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A MILITARY GOVERNOR AMONG ABOLITIONISTS.

A LETTER

FROM

EDWARD STANLY

TO

CHARLES SUMNER.

NEW YORK.
1865.

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New York, February, 1865.

To Hon. Charles Sumner, *Senator from Mass.*

Sir:—An eminent gentleman of Boston remarked, with great force and truth, that "fanaticism hardens the heart and darkens the understanding; and where there is neither common sense, nor common charity, the very first step in a process of reasoning cannot be taken."

The author of this remark must have had you in his mind's eye when he wrote this sentence. All who know you are compelled to admit you have no common sense. You are as remarkable for want of it as you are for your pretensions of scholarship, and of being an earnest man, deeply sympathizing with distressed humanity. I shall satisfy all who read what I have to say of you, that you are not only destitute of charity, but full of malice.

It is no feeling of retaliation that urges me to address you this communication. I would not inflict personal injury upon you if you were in my power; but I owe it to my friends, especially in Massachusetts, to defend my character against your slanders, or rather to show them who my assailant is. Had you attacked me under your own name, as you did in the Senate, in June, 1862, I should have regarded it with indifference, as I did that attack. When I saw in some newspaper that you had animadverted, in terms of censure, upon my conduct as Military Governor of North Carolina, I remarked that it was all fair, only "tit for tat," for, some years ago, in the House of Representatives, while I was a Member of

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Congress for that State, I had assailed you, and had no right to complain now. But when you write an article for a literary periodical, among whose contributors are several gentlemen of high character, and no information is given that the public may know who is the author, that is a different affair. Then I have a right to bring my traducer before the bar of public opinion, and to expose the motive which instigated the slander.

In April, 1862, I had the honor to receive, in San Francisco, from Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, a telegraphic despatch, announcing my appointment as Military Governor of North Carolina. It was entirely unexpected and unsolicited. I accepted—glad of an opportunity to render any service to my country. I had not been in North Carolina a week, before I was made the subject of most unjust vituperation, as I will presently show. Letter-writers reported to newspapers not what they knew, but all the "it is said" reports to my discredit. Editors dealt in terms of abuse, and clergymen, thirsting for the applause of mobs, tired of preaching peace on earth and good will to men, wearied with the celestial truths of Holy Writ, turned aside to prey on the garbage of abolition slander.

During a visit to Washington city, a few days ago, being reluctant to believe you were a malignant man, wishing to act according to the golden rule of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us, and desiring to avoid personalities in anything I should publish in my defence, I sought an interview with you, in order that I might submit to you some evidence to induce you, in a Christian and gentlemanly spirit, to make reparation for the injustice done me by your article on "Our Domestic Relations," published in the Atlantic Monthly.

I was sadly mistaken. But before I refer specially to that interview, and to the letter which followed it, it is proper to say, that you made reference to a speech I had made in Congress some years ago.

Hinc illæ lacrymæ. It was but too apparent that the recollection of that speech was rankling in your heart. I had not forgotten, as I told you, that I had made the speech. On the next day, I went to the Congressional Library, to see whether the speech had been reported, for that I did not remember.

In the appendix to the Congressional Globe, 32d Congress, 1st Session, page 694, I found the cause of your enmity. The speech was delivered on the 12th of June, 1852. There is no statute of limitations, Mr. Sumner, to your hate.

The following quotation from that speech was in your retentive memory when you wrote "Our Domestic Relations:"

"And who is now the representative in the Senate of the Coalition in Massachusetts? Charles Sumner. What a fall was there, my countrymen! In that greatest of great speeches, delivered by Mr. Webster, in reply to Hayne—a speech which would have made its author immortal, had he made no other—there is a beautiful apostrophe to Massachusetts. 'There she stands,' he said; 'look at her.' For many years past the country has said, with pride, pointing to her Senators—look at her! But then, Webster and Davis were there; then, Choate and Winthrop were there. But who says look at her now? Whom has she given us by democratic votes as the successor of Webster and Winthrop? Look on that picture, and then on this, O Massachusetts! and hide your diminished head! Her present senator is the author of a speech 'on our present anti-slavery duties,' at the Free Soil State Convention in Boston, October 3d, 1850, some extracts from which were published in the *Republic* newspaper, a few days ago. In that speech, among other things, the Democratic Coalition success or of Webster thus spoke of the Fugitive Law and of the President:

"'Into the immortal catalogue of national crimes this has now passed, drawing with it, by an inexorable necessity, its authors also; and chiefly him, who, as President of the United States, set his name to the bill, and breathed into it that final breath, without which it would have no life. Other presidents may be forgotten, but the name signed to the Fugitive Bill can never be forgotten. There are depths of infamy, as there are heights of fame. I regret to say what I must, but truth compels me. Better far for him had he never been born. Better far for his memory and for the good name of his children, had he never been President.'

"And yet, sir, the man who made this speech has been so des-

titute of all regard for propriety, as to be seen visiting the President, whose situation compels him to receive all visitors! Oh! shame, where is thy blush? I shall, hereafter, have another word to say of this wicked speech. In place of Webster, the journeymen platform-builders in Massachusetts have sent us a fantastic Malvolio, who puts himself into the trick of singularity; and, by a peculiar tact for thrusting himself where he is not wanted, he seeks commendation for his 'yellow stockings,' when he is 'cross-gartered.' When he speaks, we look at him; and, remembering his speeches to Free Soil Conventions, we say, 'O, peace! Contemplation makes a rare turkey-cock of him. How he jets under his advanced plumes!'"

It was to this speech, Mr. Sumner, that you alluded in our recent interview. I confess it does not present you in a flattering point of view; but what honest man will say, the facts being correct, that it was not a just rebuke? "I regret to say what I must, but truth compels me." This is not the only instance in your conduct of a total disregard for all propriety.

If I mistake not, you were at college with the Hon. R. C. Winthrop. While he was in Congress, shortly after the United States had declared war against Mexico, you visited Washington, and, of course—being noted as one given to hospitality in *accepting* invitations—you accepted his invitation to dinner. Shortly before coming to Washington, you had anonymously assailed your old friend and college-mate with coarse abuse. Yet, not dreading the "depths of infamy," you ate of his salt, and "smiled and smiled" while drinking his wine! You soon returned to Boston, and renewed your calumnious assaults upon the gentleman of whose generous hospitality you had just partaken.

Mr. Winthrop made some publication, appended, I believe, to a volume of his speeches, in which he gave you a just rebuke, and declined further social intercourse with you. From this publication and from conversation with other gentlemen I learn this fact; I do not remember ever to have heard him mention your name. Can I be grieved because I am calumniated by such a man as this "earnest" Charles Sumner?

"I regret to say what I must, but truth compels me." Upon another occasion—I have forgotten what—probably at a free-soil convention, or a meeting of spirit-rappers, or a woman's rights convention, or a peace society, where you have always secured the most rapturous applause—you wantonly vilified a gentleman of high character in the city of Boston—a man respected for his strong intellect, and honored for his public services and private virtues—I mean the late Nathan Appleton—and shortly afterwards, entirely unconscious that you had been "personal," having only referred to him "simply for illustration," you called on Mr. Appleton, when you were told, as I have frequently heard, that your visits were not welcome and must not be repeated. The Malvolio of the Senate was no doubt surprised at Mr. Appleton's notions of propriety.

When you came to the Senate, Mr. Sumner, it is well known that for a long time you were silent upon anti-slavery questions; your policy then was, to "scorn the base degrees," by which you had ascended, and to ingratiate yourself into the society of Southern gentlemen. The abolition press began to annoy you by complaints that you lacked nerve, "had no backbone," &c., had been corrupted by association with slave-holders. One gentleman of high character and position, to whom a friend of yours sought to introduce you, at a *levée* at the Presidential mansion, turned his back upon you, declining to be introduced to Mr. Sumner. It is unnecessary to cite other well-known instances of like character. It was not because you were a violent anti-slavery man that you were despised; Adams, Hale, Seward, Chase, King, and others had been older and abler soldiers in the anti-slavery cause, but they were gentlemen, not whining sycophants, or secret slanderers of public men; they were honored for their integrity, abilities, and private virtues, by gentlemen from all sections: they were never accused of partaking of a gentleman's hospitality and then stabbing his reputation in the dark. There is another cause for your hate of every

Southern gentleman. You were the victim of an outrage, when you received a blow in the Senate-Chamber from a Southern man: an outrage justly condemned by every Christian patriot in our country, and by none more than by myself. And since you recovered "backbone" enough to resume your seat in the Senate, your imagination from every inkstand bodies forth a revolver, from every pen a bludgeon, in the hands of a Southern man.

These things account for your want of charity, and for the dread and horror you entertain at the thought of peace, which may bring back again to Congress some of those you so sincerely hate; for you would as soon "meet the d——l alone," as see the Southern States again represented in the Senate.

But to return to the "Atlantic Monthly." When my attention was called to "Our Domestic Relations," your name was not given as the author. I have already stated, that had your name appeared as the author, I should have passed it by without concern; that not being the case, the following correspondence took place:

San Francisco, *November 28th*, 1863.

To Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, *Boston.*

Gentlemen:—

In the "Atlantic Monthly" of October, published by you, there is an article entitled "Our Domestic Relations," in which, on page 509, appears the following:

"The conduct of at least one of our military magistrates seems to have been a counterpart to that of these 'bashaws' of Cromwell, and there is no argument against that early despotism, which may not be urged against any attempt to revive it in our day. Some of the acts of Governor Stanly in North Carolina, are in themselves an argument against the whole system."

My purpose in addressing you is to ascertain the name of the author of the article, in which so unjust and unfounded an imputation is made against me. I may be able to satisfy him that he has been imposed on by malignant libellers; that "some of the acts" of which he has heard were committed after consultation with, and upon the advice of Major-Generals Burnside and Foster, commanding the Department of North

Carolina, while I was acting as Military Governor; that these acts were reported to the President and Secretary of War, and after examination, my conduct was approved by them; that some of the attacks against me in the newspapers were misrepresentations of "some of the acts" referred to, and have been proved such.

I do not object to—on the contrary, I solicit—the most severe scrutiny of some, or of all my acts, while I was Military Governor of North Carolina. If it were supposable that the author of the article could have been influenced by vindictive feelings, and would be glad of an opportunity of indulging them upon sufficient excuse, I would inform him, he has my defiance to afford your readers, or the public through any other channel, an elaborate and searching review, of any or of all "the acts" referred to.

If he be a gentleman, incapable of doing injustice—of striking an antagonist from behind—if he be not one who is "willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike," I wish to ask him to specify "some of the acts of Governor Stanly in North Carolina" which have provoked the remarks in the "Atlantic Monthly," which I have quoted.

In this way only can I furnish a proper defence, at the proper time.

I am the more sensitive in relation to this, because the attack comes from Massachusetts, to whose fame I have never been unjust; with most of whose sons—some illustrious dead and living—whom I have met in public life, it has been my good fortune to be on the most friendly terms: we have often taken "sweet counsel together," to resist the attempts of the wicked men who have caused this horrible war; with some of her sons my pride has been and is, that I possessed evidences of their esteem.

While I do not suppose you will allow the "Atlantic Monthly" to be used for personal controversies, yet I believe you will not allow any man to be assailed unjustly, by any of your contributors. If it be not contrary to the rules by which your conduct as publishers is governed, I hope you will give me the name of the author of "Our Domestic Relations," and do me the justice to publish this letter, that your readers may be informed I stand ready, when specifications are given, to defend any attack upon my conduct as Military Governor, and to prove that, while discharging the most painful and embarrassing duties of the office, I did nothing that I wish concealed from public examination; nothing unbecoming a Christian or a gentleman; nothing to bring reproach on the administration, or on my own, I trust, hitherto unstained reputation.

Very respectfully yours, &c.

EDWARD STANLY.

BOSTON, *January 19th*, 1864.

HON. EDWARD STANLY, *San Francisco.*

DEAR SIR:—

Your favor of November 28th came to hand this morning.

Hon. Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, is the author of the article referred to by you, to whom we must refer you for such explanation as you desire. He will doubtless be happy to give it.

We send you by this mail a copy of the article.

Very truly yours,

TICKNOR & FIELDS.

SAN FRANCISCO, *February 18th*, 1864.

To the Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, *Washington City.*

SIR:—

In answer to a letter from myself, addressed to Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, of Boston, they inform me that you are the author of an article in the "Atlantic Monthly," of October, 1863, entitled "Our Domestic Relations."

I enclose a copy of my letter to the publishers of the "Atlantic Monthly."

I have not the slightest objection to any examination of my conduct while I was acting as Military Governor in North Carolina. I admit the right of any citizen to examine and censure any or all of "the acts of the Military Governor."

But I have the right, when thus assailed, to ask, as I now do, very respectfully, that you would specify "some of the acts" which you think deserve the condemnation you have given them.

My purpose in writing this communication is explained in the letter enclosed.

Your obedient servant, &c.

EDWARD STANLY.

SENATE CHAMBER, *May 18th*, 1864.

DEAR SIR:—

Your letter of 18th February, which was handed to my clerk, has been over-laid by a mass of unanswered letters, so as to have passed out of mind, until my attention was again called to it.

Let me say to you frankly that in my brief allusion to you, I intended nothing personal. Public attention had been already called to certain incidents during your administration of North Carolina, which seemed to my mind to show the impolicy of such a military system of government, and I referred to them simply for illustration.

In reply to your inquiry as to these acts, I beg to refer you to a

pamphlet which has recently appeared in New York, entitled "Brief report of the services rendered by the Freed People to the United States Army in North Carolina in the spring of 1862, after the battle of Newbern, by Vincent Colyer, Superintendent, &c., of the Poor, under Major-General Burnside. Illustrated. New York, published by Vincent Colyer, 105 Bleecker street, 1864."

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

P. S. The pamphlet contains an enumeration of the acts.

This brings me to Mr. Colyer's pamphlet. I attempted, while in San Francisco, unsuccessfully, to obtain a copy. After some trouble, on my reaching this city recently, I procured one.

The "enumeration of the acts," in Mr. Colyer's pamphlet, will be found on page 55, in the following paragraph:

"The searching of my premises for Harriet the slave-girl, by Bray, and his carrying back of another, having an order in writing from Governor Stanly, permitting him to do so; the order given to the captain of the steamer Haze, and, it was said, to others, forbidding him from taking any freedmen North, under pain of the confiscation of his vessel; the promise to Mr. Perry of $1,000 for the man Sam Williams, whom I had taken North with me; the demand upon General Burnside for that amount, because I had not returned Sam; the expatriation of Mr. Helper; all these acts of Governor Stanly, which were known to hundreds, make it unnecessary for me to say any more."

For the sake of human nature, I could almost wish I had done some unkind act to Mr. Colyer, that could have given him some excuse for deliberately writing that paragraph. I have heard that Mr. Colyer was a "preacher," as well as an artist. When he called to see me, in North Carolina, he was treated with all the respect due to a clergyman. I am not conscious that I have ever done him wrong. Yet, after twelve months, or more, had passed away, without excuse, without the hope of doing good to any one, and without provocation, he has published a pamphlet filled with misrepresentation of my conduct.

In the sentences quoted there are three falsehoods, some

of which I will prove by General Burnside, whom Mr. Colyer has tried to make a witness to support his statements.

As soon as I succeeded in procuring a copy of the Report in which Mr. Sumner found an "enumeration of the acts of the Military Governor," and saw General Burnside's name mentioned to support Mr. Colyer's charges, I addressed a letter to the General, enclosing the extract quoted above, and asked him to give me a statement relative to the matters commented on in the pamphlet.

His answer I give below. His character, as a patriot-soldier and Christian gentleman, ensures credit for any statement he may make. I wish General Burnside's letter remembered in connection with what I shall state hereafter.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *Jan. 16th*, 1865.

HON. EDWARD STANLY

My Dear Sir:—I beg to own the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, referring to a paragraph in a pamphlet written by Mr. Vincent Colyer.

I have never seen the pamphlet, but in reference to the passage you quote, I do not hesitate to say that you never made a demand of me for payment for any person's slave; neither did I hear you promise payment to any one for slaves. At Newbern you came to me, in company with a Mr. Perry, who had remained at home when we entered the place, and who was among the first, if not the first, of those who took the oath of allegiance.

The joint proclamation issued by Commodore Goldsborough and myself, in accordance with our instructions, assured those who remained at home that, as far as possible, their persons and property would be protected.

As in all instances, where places have been suddenly and forcibly occupied by troops, many depredations were committed by our people at Newbern; and Mr. Perry, who had suffered among others, felt that he should have some redress. Both you and I advised him to trust to the Government, and at the same time expressed the opinion that the Government would pay loyal citizens for property appropriated to the public service; but no promise or demand was, to my knowledge, made by any one.

The status of the negro had not been well defined at the time, by the Government, and I was instructed to say as little about it as possible; so that all my actions and conversations were necessarily guarded.

The emancipation proclamation of the President had not been issued at the time.

There was much excitement in the city, I remember, in reference to negro schools, and ill-advised steps were taken by some of the soldiers to exasperate the negroes. I advised you to have a guard at your quarters and accordingly ordered one there.

I have always understood from you that you did not order the schools closed; but know nothing of it personally. One of our soldiers was arrested for making a speech denunciatory of you, but was released at your request.

Mr. Helper was sent off, by your order, for writing you a very violent letter; and, as I remember it, I entirely coincided with you.

In closing, I am glad to say that, while in North Carolina, our official intercourse was characterized by a disposition, on your part, to coöperate with and assist me, on all occasions; whilst our personal intercourse was of the most friendly nature.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully yours,

A. E. BURNSIDE.

Thus, it will be seen Mr. Colyer's witness does not support him.

I am sorry to say Mr. Colyer is guilty of deliberate falsehood. His sketches with his pencil are most silly and ludicrous exaggerations; but they contain as much truth as the representations made by his pen.

I did give Mr. Bray and his wife permission to search for their slave-girl. I would do so again, under the same circumstances. His wife informed me she had been carried off against her consent; was in bad health, and needed nursing and such attendance as could not be had in the crowded state of the houses occupied by the negroes, who were then dying on an average of ten per day. I believed this statement. Mr. Bray had given no aid or comfort to the rebellion. He resided a short distance from the town, *within our lines.* In fact, part or the whole of a regiment was encamped on his land, and within sight of his house; so there was no probability that the "slave-girl" could be carried among the rebels. I had never seen the girl. Such a painter as Mr. Colyer may be of "imagination all compact." He can

see "Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt." He speaks more than once of the "great beauty of many of the quadroon girls, who attended my school, for the more advanced scholars."

From what I heard and believed, I thought I was rescuing the slave-girl from a den of infamy, and restoring her to a virtuous home.

There was one other case, that I remember, of what Mr. Colyer calls "returning fugitive slaves to their owners."

Two respectable persons, man and wife, more than sixty years old, were living in Beaufort, North Carolina, where they had resided more than forty years. Several valuable slaves had left them, and they were suddenly reduced from a condition of comfortable independence to poverty, and without any accusation of giving aid and comfort to the enemy. They had a colored child, seven years old, a pet of her mistress, raised in her house, and fed from her own table. These old people had no children. Several soldiers had entered their dwelling, and forcibly taken the child away. I ordered the child to be returned to her home. There was no possibility it could be carried out of our lines. The town was under the guns of Fort Macon, and there was no rebel soldier within thirty miles. I believe I was right, and would do so again, under the same circumstances.

And for these acts, Mr. Colyer—bearing false witness against his neighbor—would hold me up to the country as one engaged in catching runaway slaves, and sending them to the rebel lines.

When slaves came within our lines, the property of rebels, I not only protected them, but recommended them for employment on our forts, and, in some instances, secured payment of their wages. I will not waste time by replying to what correspondents of papers have written. Their communications bear intrinsic evidence of having been inspired by Mr. Colyer. It is enough to prove that he is guilty of falsehood, without replying to letter-writers, who had no personal

knowledge of what they wrote, but merely gave rumors—"it is said," "it is reported," etc., etc.

It was my misfortune, Mr. Sumner, to have been born in a slave-holding country, and to have been a slave-holder; but, while living among them—the world contains no better Christians, no better people—I never saw the day when I would not as soon have stolen a sheep as to have taken any part in catching a runaway slave. I know you cannot appreciate this feeling, not peculiar to me, but belonging to every Southern gentleman.

I would as soon have accepted an invitation to dine with an old college-mate, just after vilifying him, anonymously, in the newspapers; have sat by his side, and, while drinking his wine, have been preparing my next essay, to be published a few days after the dinner, as to have taken any part in catching a runaway slave.

The employment of a butcher or a scavenger may be honest and honorable, but I have no taste for either occupation.

While residing in North Carolina, in 1849, I was the owner of a slave-woman, whose parents had been the property of my father. She was married to a man whose owner resided in the town where I dwelt. Her husband escaped to a Northern State, and she soon followed him. I would never listen to a suggestion to take any steps to bring her back. She was honest, faithful, and of good character. As soon as I learned where she was, and while the Fugitive Law was in force, several years before this civil war, I had sent her, to the care of an ex-Member of Congress, a deed of emancipation. I was unwilling that she should even suffer from the apprehension of being arrested. Her father, who was an honest, religious man, and a good servant, had reposed confidence in me, and I would not, for his sake, have dealt unkindly with his child.

And this is not the only instance of like conduct on my part.

If by any possibility I should be tempted to write my autobiography, I could give a chapter as follows :

In the town of Newbern, where I was born, free negroes voted, as late as the year 1835, when a State Convention (after abolitionists had been engaged in their diabolical work, and an insurrection had taken place in Virginia) by a small majority deprived them of the privilege.

We had then borough representation—five or six towns sending each one member. My father had often represented the town in the State Legislature. About three hundred voters resided in Newbern, and of these sixty were free negroes, who generally voted, without exception, for him. It was said of him, after his death, by one who had known him from infancy, that no man, no matter what the color of his skin, had ever sought his assistance in distress, and failed to find a ready advocate and a friend.

The first time I ever voted, it was in company with a freed man emancipated by my father, for meritorious conduct, but a few months before. (By the way, this old gentleman, for he is one, was alive when I last heard from him. He was living in Kinston when General Foster captured the town, on his successful attempt to destroy the rail-road near Goldsboro. General Foster, to prevent pillage and robbery, had ordered the Provost-Marshal to place guards to protect private property. An abolition colonel, entertaining your opinions, claiming to out-rank the Provost-Marshal, discharged the guard, and told his soldiers to enter houses and help themselves. Among others this old freed-man was robbed. He was a barber—they stole his razors and all his money, some of which an old friend of his had sent but a few weeks before. Cannot you and the "Reverend" Mr. Colyer raise a subscription and make amends to this honest and unoffending negro ? I would gladly co-operate even with such men—*par nobile fratrum*—in so good a work).

While residing in North Carolina, I on three occasions defended negroes, accused of murder for killing white men.

In two of the cases I succeeded in saving their lives. This was after I had been in Congress. Some prudent friends intimated I might suffer in public opinion by undertaking their defence. I mention to the honor of the good people I represented, it had no such effect, for I was again elected to represent them.

I had the honor to be for a short period Attorney General of North Carolina, and it became my official duty to prosecute persons indicted for capital felonies. A free negro was tried for killing a white man, and it was an easy matter, without offending public sentiment, and in apparent accordance with duty, to have urged his conviction. I might have succeeded. I hope I thought of a "higher law," when, by my consent, he was acquitted of the crime of murder.

Who, but one as mean-spirited as you, as unchristian and malignant as Mr. Colyer, would accuse me of trying to catch runaway slaves ?

I fear I may offend good taste by this egotism. But I speak only the truth, and am vindicating a name, unstained by dishonor, from false and cowardly slanders.

Mr. Colyer cannot criticise it, for though in one of his reports he quotes a text of Scripture, "He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory," he proceeds, with the most silly and disgusting self-adulation, to claim credit that he never deserved, for acts that he never performed. It were an easy matter to strip him of his jackdaw plumes ; but I forbear. I will not go further than self-defence will justify. He may publish pamphlets full of fanciful accounts ; he may revel in his self-glorification, and be as proud of his efforts as his prototype Jack Horner was, when he "pulled out a plum," and he will have no annoyance at my hands. But he must not slander me, under the apparent sanction of an honorable name.

So much for my conduct in returning fugitive slaves.

Mr. Colyer says, in the extract quoted, that I gave orders

to the captain of a steamer, "forbidding him from taking any freed-men North, under pain of the confiscation of his vessel."

If such an order was given, it was in writing: Mr. Colyer cannot find any honest man who will say I ever threatened to confiscate his vessel. I have lived a sober man, and never been crazy. I will confess I should have been sent to a lunatic asylum, and not appointed Military Governor, or to some home for the inebriate, if I ever made such a threat. Orders forbidding the carrying away of negroes—stealing "men-servants and maid-servants" I call it—were given by one or both of the major-generals commanding the department of North Carolina.

These officers wanted the services of the men in building forts and making roads, &c., and I tried to prevent the stealing of property of any kind, which was the chief cause of the deep hostility manifested towards me. I should as soon have thought of "confiscating" a gunboat or a fortification, as of confiscating a vessel belonging to, or chartered by, the Government. I should as soon have thought of confiscating Mr. Colyer,—if a thing of no value could be confiscated.

The charge that I made a "promise" to Mr. Perry, for the man whom Mr. Colyer had "taken North," is false.

The charge that I made a "demand upon General Burnside," &c., is proved to be false by the General's letter.

Some of Mr. Colyer's "friends" hated rebels, but hated Union-men worse. They could not have the much-coveted excuse for "finding things"—"trophies," as they called libraries, pianos, carpets, mirrors, and household furniture—and "taking them North." Mr. Perry was a good Union-man, and therefore incurred the hostility of the trophy-finders. In intelligence and patriotism, he was greatly superior to Mr. Colyer; in all respects—except writing fancy reports, and

drawing caricatures with his pencil—his equal. Mr. Colyer injured him, and therefore, according to the Spanish proverb, hated him.

Our troops had plundered and damaged Mr. Perry's farm and other property. He had a blooded horse, valued at four thousand dollars—"found, trophied, and taken North," for which he received no compensation. If it be asked how these matters were managed, the answer is : sometimes the quarter-masters having charge of the steamboats were abolition orators and politicians, not West-Pointers.

And now for the "expatriation of Mr. Helper,"—the last mentioned of the wicked "acts of the military governor."

The letter of General Burnside states how great was the excitement, and what he thought of the danger in which I was placed from the negroes. The population of the town, white and black, was, I think, about five thousand, when the rebellion broke out. When I reached Newbern, it was estimated there were more than eight thousand negroes in the town ; of course, many of them strangers to me, for it had been more than twenty years since I resided there.

When General Burnside ordered a guard to my quarters, I told him I would trust my life in the hands of the negroes who had known my father, and known me ; it was only because many of them had come from a distance, that there was any apprehension on my part.

My memory is, that I had not been there a week before Mr. Colyer abruptly closed his schools and commenced his agitation. I had no hostility, no reason for any, against Mr. Helper ; but he was insolent in his letter, loud and open-mouthed in his censure of me. It was indispensable to show that I had some authority, or to leave the State. I took the responsibility ; assumed all the blame ; and believe I was right.

That I was not vindictive, even towards the soldier who

tried to provoke a mutiny that might have cost me my life, Gen. Burnside's letter proves.

I will give you excuse for another essay, and furnish Mr. Colyer a subject for another picture, by mentioning another case of "expatriation."

A respectable widow came to my office, with a lady who lived with her, informing me that a negro-man, accompanied by several soldiers, had entered her dwelling, and, with great rudeness, was searching every room in the house. I went to her dwelling, from which the negro and soldiers were just coming out. He was insolent, and seemed to be intoxicated. He had committed the same trespass upon other citizens, alleging that he was authorized so to do by the provost marshal. This was not true. He had been employed as a detective, but never to enter private residences. The sergeant or corporal who had charge of the guard, had brought them to the house at the request of the "colored gentleman;" and at the request of the colored gentleman, without the order even of a captain, half a dozen soldiers, commanded by a free negro from the North, were engaged in searching the houses of aged people and respectable widows!

If he had not been sent away, I should soon have committed self-expatriation.

But how is it, Mr. Sumner, that your holy indignation was never roused, when hundreds—sometimes helpless women and children, sometimes clergymen, were expatriated in almost every Southern State—sometimes families driven from their homes, and not permitted to carry household furniture, or even clothing? In some cases the power was properly exercised, but in many, without justification or excuse.

So much, then, for all these "acts." I stand by them. I believe they are right in the sight of God, and in the opinion of all but cowardly and fanatical slanderers.

That I may satisfy all fair-minded people of the danger I was in, I give below the substance of a letter written by a clergyman of Northern birth and association, and a resident

of a Northern State, who happened to be present at an indignation meeting held by the negroes. I am authorized to give this clergyman's name, but withhold it because, I suppose, like all gentlemen, he has no desire to attract notoriety. He makes no attack upon any one, and in the opinion of those who have known him well, wishes only to spend the remainder of his useful life, as he has many years past, in "alluring to brighter worlds, and leading the way."

"I give you a brief abstract of my recollections of a meeting I attended in the African Church, in Newbern. The meeting took place on Sunday afternoon. The audience were wholly African, with the exception of, perhaps, half a dozen white persons. The preliminary services were conducted by a white man. After these were concluded, a long address was made by a United States soldier in uniform. The first part of it was rambling and vague, in thought and expression. During the latter part of it, he spoke of the circumstances in which his audience were placed. He said they were free; that he himself, and the thousands with him, had enlisted in the army, and had come down there, for the sole purpose of breaking their chains, etc., etc. He then said, a man had appeared among them, with the title of Military Governor, who had begun his duties by sending back to her mistress, a slave who had left her. (Alluding to the slave of Mrs. Bray.) But he was glad to say that she had been rescued again. And he wished to tell that Governor, that for every slave he attempted to send back into bondage, a dozen free men would rise up to rescue him. They had enlisted and come there for the purpose of freeing them, and unless they accomplished it, would have come in vain. He then went on to say, that they must not leave it all to their friends; that if the Governor continued to send them back, they must take the matter into their own hands; that they must strike down every one who stood in the way to freedom; that they must break through every hindrance; that it would be better for every house to be burned, and the land made desolate, than that they should be made slaves again, etc., etc., etc.

His manner was very excited. He occupied about twenty minutes in his attack on Governor Stanly's policy.

After he concluded, the negroes were in a state of high excitement, when a class-leader in the African Church, a slave named Southey Fonveille, arose, and commenced by saying, that they had listened to a very excellent discourse, which he wanted them to think about. But all parts of it were not suited to all. He wanted each to take the part that was suited to himself, and to think about it, and to get all the good he could

from it, but not to go outside and talk about it. He then spoke in very kind terms of Governor Stanly, whom, he said, he had known from his earliest infancy, and had often held him on his knee, when he was a child; that he was sure he would do nothing wrong to the colored people.

He then likened their situation to the children of Israel coming out of Egypt—in the course of which similitude he went minutely over that part of the history of the Israelites, and showed how they had been led by the hand of God in every step they had taken. In a most graphic manner, he described the journey of the Israelites from their homes to the shores of the Red Sea. He then pictured their situation there—with the sea in front, and Pharaoh's army behind, and no way of escape open. 'Breddren,' said he, 'dar's where we are now!' He then showed how the Lord opened a way through the sea, and that He would do the same, in his own good time, in their case, but they must wait his time, etc., etc. I was much impressed with the old man's eloquent speech, and it was not lost upon his previously excited audience."

I confess, even after the lapse of years, I cannot read this account without emotion. I feel proud to say, that this old man, who probably saved my life, was born, and had lived many years, my father's slave. If he can read the Scriptures, it is more than probable I was one of those who taught him how. I had rather have his good opinion than the plaudits of fifty thousand Sumners and Colyers.

By accident, Mr. Colyer, in his pamphlet, allows some truth to escape him. In speaking of the negroes, he says :

"Many of their colored preachers exhort with great earnestness and power, and usually present the Gospel with simplicity and truth. One peculiarity of great, if not vital, importance, that must be considered in forming a plan for the proper and judicious treatment of this people, is their earnest and living faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Without the ability to read, except in a very few instances, with but little leisure to attend places of public worship, and, through long and painful years of oppression, they have been blessed, by the grace of God, with a simplicity and clearness of understanding of the fundamental doctrines of the truth of salvation, as it is in Jesus Christ, that is most astonishing. If one would learn what precious comfort may be found in Christianity, in the midst of the severest trials with which human nature can be afflicted, let him go among this people. In the evening, after the toils of the day are over, you will hear, from the cabin of nearly every family, the sweet sound of hymns, sung with plaintive and touching pathos, to some familiar tune;

and listen, quietly, as you pass by, and you will hear it followed by the earnestly-beseeching voice of prayer. Their religious meetings are usually crowded. Before the rebellion broke out, these meetings had been discouraged by the State authorities, whether from fear of the slaves I cannot say, though I always heard this given as the reason."

From whom did they learn the truths of Christianity? From their owners—men and women, Christian slave-holders, who felt the awful responsibility of having human creatures dependent upon them, for whose physical wants they were bound to provide, and for whom it was their duty to furnish religious instruction. And nobly, as a people, have the North Carolinians discharged their duty. Often and often have slaves been seen kneeling at the same altar, partaking of the bread of life, with their masters. The most accomplished women of the South—but little lower than the angels—have felt a delight in performing their duty, while teaching, Sunday after Sunday, the little negroes the valuable truths of Christianity. In remote places, where churches were inaccessible, those whose misfortune it was to own large bodies of slaves, have employed preachers by the year, to visit their farms, and teach and preach to them Gospel truths. I know one case, of a most estimable gentleman, who employed a Baptist and Methodist to preach to his negroes, according to their wishes, while his family were Episcopalians. In the town of Newbern—before the abolition trophy-finders came—a paradise for negroes—they had a church of their own, capable of holding near seven hundred persons. So great was the increase of religious persons among the Methodists, that the white people built a new church, and surrendered the old one to the negroes. There they learned to "exhort, with great earnestness and power, and to present the Gospel with simplicity and truth." There they were taught "the fundamental doctrines of the truths of salvation, as it is in Jesus Christ," and "astonishing" only to such fanatics as Messrs. Sumner and Colyer. There they were taught to sing the songs of Sion. And from that

house, more than forty years ago, I heard "the sweet sound of hymns, sung with plaintive and touching pathos," that seemed to reach the heavens, like the sound of many waters. And while their owners united with them in worship, their devotion was kindled, and their hearts filled with gratitude to the Great Jehovah, that, amid the tremendous responsibilities attending a slave-owner's life, their slaves could learn the inestimable truths of Christianity.

The facts stated in an address published by clergymen of the South, of different denominations, of the large number of negroes who were communicants, I have no doubt, from my own observation, are strictly correct. A large portion of the Christian world believe that the Scriptures should not be in the hands of the people; that religious instruction can come purer from the teachings of the priesthood. Though I do not concur in this opinion, I would not, as some of your philanthropic brethren would do, destroy their churches because of this belief. It is, thank God, certain, that the truths of the Gospel confer blessings upon the learned and the ignorant; and can be appreciated alike by the accomplished Philemon and the slave Onesimus. We do not read that, when three thousand were converted by St. Peter, on the day of Pentecost, they were first taught to read and write; that they were great and noble; but they were "out of every nation under heaven." "Peter lifted up his voice," and they, "about three thousand souls," heard and believed.

It is a great mistake, Mr. Sumner, to suppose that learning always exalts the human character. It did not teach you what honor and fair dealing required in your intercourse with gentlemen. In fact, you afford an almost daily illustration of the truth of John Randolph's remark, that, if a man has no common sense to build upon, though he may have much acquirement, and a good memory, he may be cursed with a collegiate education; he is soon useless and ridiculous, and like a Virginia old field, "cultivated to death."

Mr. Colyer made a report, as Secretary of the "Committee of Merchants for the Relief of Colored People suffering from the Late Riots in the city of New York," in which, while he claims for the free colored people superiority over their Southern brethren, in education and refinement, he says: "In physical strength and vigor of body, I think the Southern refugees are their superior." Here we have the admission of a most malignant abolitionist, that the slaves understand clearly the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and are also remarkable for "physical strength and vigor of body!"

Mr. Vincent Colyer, though bent on philanthropy, evinces a "frugal mind." There is one white man for whom he entertains a large amount of charity, whose interests he does not entirely forget; and that man is Vincent Colyer, preacher, artist, missionary and secretary. With ingenious modesty, he suggests to the Committee of Merchants, whether it might not be to the advantage and "lasting benefit of the colored people in New York city, to have this mission continued permanently among them." Again—"Understanding that the present Committee, on the conclusion of its labors, will be disbanded, the idea has suggested itself, whether a committee could not be found who would place this friendly intercourse *on a permanent foundation*, and carry on the work as above suggested." Happy idea! Ye rich men of the Committee, do something for Mr. Colyer, "permanently." To carry on the work, if no Christian charity is required, and no regard for truth necessary, Mr. Colyer may be serviceable. And if you cannot give him an office, recommend him for one. He cannot live without—he must have—an office.

When I desired that by-gones should be by-gones, and to be relieved from the necessity of publishing anything that might wound your feelings, you declined, in answer to a civil suggestion, to make any reparation, by a withdrawal of the unjust remarks, in the "Atlantic Monthly," assailing me. You not only did this, but wrote an insolent letter, using offensive terms, and reasserting the charges complained of;

and, with characteristic modesty, you beg me to add your letter to any publication I may make.

But first, let us have a communication addressed by me to the Secretary of War, to which reference is made by you:

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA,
NEWBERN, *June 12th*, 1862.

Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

SIR:—

Your letter of the 3d inst. has not received the "immediate" answer you requested, because I was absent in Beaufort when it arrived.

You send me a copy of a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives, on the 2d inst.; and desire I should furnish the Department "with a full and immediate answer" to the following part of said resolution:

"Second. Whether the said Edward Stanly has interfered to prevent the education of children, white or black, in said State, and if so, by what authority, if any."

On the 31st of May last I addressed you a letter, which I presume had not been received when you wrote on the 3d inst.

In that letter of the 31st, in reference to matters here, I made the following observations:

"The perplexing question of what is to be done with the negroes, is constantly presenting itself. I have thus far managed it with discretion. Upon all occasions I say, I have no hope of affording redress to the enemies of our country; that the Union is to be restored, cost what it may in blood and treasure, and this is a matter not to be argued.

"One person came to me yesterday, who had four slaves taken from him, and told they were free, by a rude soldier who cursed his wife. I suggested, first, that he must take the oath of allegiance; this he agreed to do. Then I gave him authority to look for his property, advising him to use mildness and persuasion. He did so, and one servant voluntarily returned to the house of a kind master. This has already excited some evil-disposed persons, and will be misrepresented.

"Almost all the inhabitants have gone away, and the belief still exists that it is dangerous for them to return.

"The Confederates refuse to allow any persons to come to this place—keeping away even women and children. Unless I can give them some assurance that this is a war of restoration, and not of abolition and destruction, no peace can be restored here for many years to come. I am making efforts to induce Union-men to come and talk with me. I feel confident I shall be successful in a few weeks.

"One person ventured to give me advice. I gave him at once permission to go to New York. The person, whose impertinent meddling I rebuked, is Mr. H. H. Helper.

"A gentleman of good Samaritan inclinations and acts, had established a school for negro-children. He called and informed me what he was doing, and asked my opinion. I approved all he had done in feeding and clothing the destitute white and black, but told him I had been sent to restore the old order of things. I thought his negro-school, if approved by me, would do harm to the Union cause. In a few months we shall know the result of the war. If, by Southern folly, emancipation comes, their spiritual welfare would not suffer by the delay, for I desired he would give such oral instruction in religious matters as he thought best. Another reason I urged was, that by one of the cruel necessities of slavery, the laws of North Carolina forbade slaves to be taught to read and write, and I would be most unsuccessful in my efforts if I encouraged the violation of her laws. He acquiesced, I thought cheerfully. If the old residents ever return, those negroes who have been taught to read and write would be suspected, and not benefited by it. You have no idea how happy the influence has been on the minds of the excellent and severely punished people of this lovely town. This school-affair has already been much misrepresented."

This extract might be sufficient to answer the resolution, but as you request not only an "immediate" but a "full" answer, it may be proper to add something more.

To the extent mentioned I did interfere, and would most assuredly do so again under the same circumstances.

My authority for so doing was the only instruction given me in your communication of May 20th, 1862, in the following words:

"It is obvious to you that the great purpose of your appointment is to re-establish the authority of the Federal Government in the State of North Carolina, and to provide the means of maintaining peace and security to the loyal inhabitants of that State."

I had these instructions in view, when I made the suggestion relative to the negro-school.

And in your letter to General Burnside, of date 20th of May, to which you referred me, you state:

"The province of Gov. Stanly is to re-establish, and maintain, under military form, the functions of civil government, until the loyal inhabitants of North Carolina shall be able to assert their constitutional rights and privileges."

I ask to be instructed what "*civil government*" is here meant, and what are the "constitutional rights and privileges" of the loyal inhabitants of this State. If their property is destroyed or removed before peace is restored, what "rights and privileges" are they to expect?

In the interview with the manager of the schools, I made use of no threats, used no discourteous language, and treated the gentleman referred to with all kindness. He called the next morning and informed me he had suspended teaching the negro-children. I approved what he had done, but nothing approaching unpleasantness occurred during the interview, nor did the thought enter my mind I had given him offence. Not a word was said, nor any intimation given of any intention to "*enforce*" the laws of this State. No such thought was in my mind, nor ever can be.

I do not intend to be guilty of disrespect to the Secretary, nor to betray too much sensitiveness; and will not therefore comment upon what seems to me to be unusual language, in requesting an "immediate" answer.

My position is one of great responsibility. I am ready to meet it. I hope it is an honorable one. It can certainly bring no profit, and is not unaccompanied with peril. I have great difficulties to overcome—greater than you suppose, and am entitled to all the confidence and support which I was assured I should have.

I believe the President to be sincere in his various public declarations, and wish to make the people of North Carolina believe him to be sincere and patriotic.

But I am grieved to say, that some of the most eminent and influential of our citizens, from listening to oft-repeated slanders, have been persuaded, and charge, the Southern country is invaded by "an enemy, who come to rob us, to murder our people, to emancipate our slaves, and who is now preparing to add a new element to this most atrocious aggression, and involve us in the direful horrors of a servile war. He proposes nothing less than our entire destruction, the total desolation of our country—universal emancipation, to crush us, to wipe out the South, to involve us in irredeemable misery and hopeless ruin."

Though I know all this is the effect of long-continued excitement, and not words of truth and soberness, but of passion, and altogether incorrect in every particular; still, they are the words of sincerity from men of irreproachable lives, who denounced secession as treason, down to the day when the North Carolina Convention passed the ordinance of secession.

If this idea, so monstrously incorrect, be in the minds of men of standing and influence, how must the large body of the people regard the action of the General Government?

In view of this most deplorable condition, I avail myself of the privilege I understood from you I should have, of asking instructions upon the following points:

1. When slaves are taken from the possession of their legal masters, by violence offered by armed men and negroes, what redress shall be afforded to the owners and what protection for the future?

2. When persons connected with the army prevail on negroes to leave their masters, shall the loyal master or mistress have permission to prevail on them to return, and be protected while so doing?

3. When steamers and vessels are almost daily leaving this State, and negroes, the property of loyal citizens, are taken on board, without the consent of their owners—who are sometimes widows and orphans—will authority be given to prevent their being removed?

4. In cases where aged and infirm people, who have been always loya inhabitants—and treated with cruelty by secession soldiers because of their loyalty—have had their able-bodied slaves taken away, their barns robbed and fences destroyed, themselves unable from age and infirmity to labor—shall any effort be made, either by persuasion by the civil authority or otherwise, to have them delivered up?

5. If the Military Governor shall interfere with any action which it is known will violate the long-established law of North Carolina, and a person connected with the army on the Sunday following shall make inflammatory appeals to a crowd of several hundred negroes, exhorting them to resort to violence and bloodshed, what action shall be taken by the Governor, if any, to prevent the recurrence of such conduct?

6. When the slaves of loyal citizens—who have never given aid and comfort to the rebellion, and sometimes suffered because they did not—are employed by the authorities of the United States, in various kinds of labor, can any steps be taken to secure a portion of what is due for their labor to their owners?

These are not cases of imagination: they have occurred, and are, most of them, coming before me for action daily. I will not weary or distress you by the details.

I hope I am not exceeding the duties of my place, while I urgently, but most respectfully, request an answer to these questions.

When I receive that answer I shall be able, without delay, to inform the Department how far I can be relied upon to carry out its wishes.

Every day's experience impresses more forcibly on my mind the conviction, felt by abler and better men than myself, that some course of policy must be adopted as to the disposition of slaves within our lines.

If the army advances, and their numbers, already large, shall be increased, what is to be done with them? Who will support them or their owners—often loyal and true men, already reduced to want by the rebellion—who can make no crops without their aid? The expense of feeding the negroes will be enormous. It is estimated that each negro-man, employed by Government, will require in wages and subsistence forty dollars per month, to support himself and family, who generally accompany him.

It is my heart-felt desire to restore to my native State the countless blessings conferred by the Union. I am ready to make any sacrifice a gentleman and patriot can make to do so. But if I cannot rely upon the

'perfect confidence and full support of the War Department," which was promised me, I desire to know it.

The loss of my humble abilities will not be felt by this great country.

If I am to act without instructions, and not to be supported when I pursue the deliberate dictates of my judgment and conscience, then I ask —the only favor I ever asked for my personal benefit of any administration—to be allowed to tender my "immediate" resignation, and to be restored, as early as possible, to the honor of a private station.

I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) EDWARD STANLY,

Military Governor of North Carolina.

Had you no other means of reaching the public ear, I would gratify your request to publish your letter.

It contains no argument worth answering. If any patriot of common sense, having any remnant of respect for you, should read it, he will conclude, with a majority of your countrymen, that you are not only an ill-mannered, but a crack-brained fellow. But you can be heard. You can have your letter published in some paper of large circulation. Speak it in the Senate. Print it in the "Atlantic Monthly;" its publishers will treat you with the courtesy they have not extended to me.

But I will not withhold the evidence upon which your opinion is founded.

You refer me to the "Congressional Globe," 2d Session, 37th Congress, part 3d, pp. 2,477 and 2,596.

On p. 2,477 I find:

"Mr. SUMNER said—

"I have the official report of this extraordinary transaction.

"In a conversation between Governor Stanly and Mr. Colyer, the Governor stated that there was one thing in Mr. Colyer's doings, as superintendent of the poor, a question would be raised about, indeed it had been already, and that was his (Colyer's) keeping school for the blacks. 'Of course you are aware,' said the Governor, 'that the laws of the State make the opening of such schools a criminal offence. My instructions from Washington were that I was to carry out the laws of North Carolina

precisely as they were administered before the breaking out of this unhappy affair; so, *if I were called upon for a decision* in the matter of your schools for the blacks, I would have to decide against you; but, at the same time, I don't want anything done abruptly. As a man, I might do, perhaps, as you have done; but as a Governor, I must act in my official capacity, according to my instructions, and administer the laws as I find them.'

"C. H. MENDELL,

"Clerk to Mr. Colyer.

"A true copy.

"Newbern, May 28, 1862."

Then follows a further statement:

"Mr. C. C. Leigh, who was with General Saxton in the Oriental, on his way to South Carolina, as confidential agent of the National Freedmen's Relief Association, and who has just returned, asked Mr. Colyer what he should do. Mr. Colyer replied, '*I must close the schools*, as I cannot consent to continue to place myself in a situation where I am liable to be punished, according to the laws of North Carolina.' Mr. Leigh is Chairman of our Home Committee."

I have italicised one or two lines in the above "official report."

To all by whom I am known I am willing to leave the charge of my closing the schools upon my own statement. Mr. Mendell's certificate was evidently drawn up by Mr. Colyer. So far from contradicting, it supports my statement; for, according to this "official report," I said, "*if I were called upon for a decision*," &c., and "Mr. Colyer replied, "*I* must close the schools."

Mr. Colyer is not only a silly, but an excitable and timid man. He probably thought he was in danger of severe and horrible punishment. But why not appeal to General Burnside? The General would have objected, and had I determined to close the schools, I should, in deference to him, have yielded; for, "as a man," I told Mr. Colyer I had no fault to find with his schools.

Mr. Mendell no doubt shared Mr. Colyer's excitement. It will be seen Mr. Mendell says, I was "instructed" to

"carry out the laws of North Carolina *precisely* as they were administered before the breaking out of this unhappy affair."

Before I left Washington city I had asked for instructions; had left my home in San Francisco, not doubting I would have instructions. I had been advised by an intimate friend, in whose integrity and judgment I placed great confidence, that I ought not to go to North Carolina without instructions; I had asked the President for instructions, after Mr. Stanton had declined to give them, and the President referred me to Mr. Seward, and he, in complimentary terms, said I needed no instructions, &c., &c. When I first arrived in Newbern, and called on General Burnside, I told him of the painful responsibility I felt in having no instructions. In my letter to the Secretary of War it will be seen I referred to this fact; and yet the Colyer certificate, the "Official Report," makes me declare I had "instructions" to carry out the laws of North Carolina *precisely* as they were "administered" before the rebellion!

The whole country knew that martial law had been proclaimed, and that all courts within our lines had been suspended; no man in his senses would have thought of attempting such an impossibility.

I had no intention of interfering with his schools. With indecent pertinacity he insisted upon having my opinion: he said he wanted my approbation. Knowing, as I did, that a large majority of the people of North Carolina were opposed to secession, and anxious to be restored to the protection of that flag in defence of which thousands of them were willing to die, I thought it not prudent to give my approbation—it being entirely useless for any good purpose to do so—of anything which was calculated to enable secession-traitors to excite prejudice against me.

"My offence hath this extent—no more."

Mr. Colyer more than once said :

"These schools had been under way about six weeks when Governor Stanly arrived; on his making known to me his opposition to their continued existence, I (Vincent Colyer) stopped them."

The President and Secretary of War were overwhelmed with complaints against me ; every source of information was open to them : there was no scarcity of philanthropic patriots ready to take my place. I was a stumbling-block in the way of thieves and trophy-finders. I was no office-seeker, and was unwilling to hold office one hour after my conduct was disapproved by the President. My opinions and acts had been boldly avowed and justified, and yet the President and Secretary not only tolerated, but expressly approved what I had done. Of this, I confess, I am proud and grateful. With painful apprehension I entered upon an untried theatre : without precedent or instructions, relying upon the patriotism and integrity of these high officers. I did not rely upon them in vain ; and though I differ widely upon great public measures with them, I have uniformly spoken of them with the courtesy, respect, and kindness, which justice demands.

With their approbation I may and do laugh to scorn the malignant falsehoods of a regiment of Sumners and Colyers.

I would not, for the sake merely of exposing the ridiculous pretensions of Mr. Colyer, state a fact in relation to the schools for negroes in North Carolina, but justice to the people of Newbern requires it.

Mr. Colyer has illustrated his fables by a picture representing negroes—women with babies in arms, and little children—rushing into his "public school," and beneath this picture are these words :

"The first public school for colored people in North Carolina, established by Vincent Colyer, April, 1862."

Alas for the instability of human glory !

It is a fact well known to residents in Newbern, that, for many years before the rebellion, there were schools for negroes in that town. One school was taught by a free-woman, the wife of a slave, a carpenter—an honest, worthy man, who was living in that town in 1862. I know one gentleman who had a slave who was a pupil in that school.

Besides this school, there were two musical societies for adults, meeting one evening in each week, to study and practise vocal music.

There was one school taught on Sundays, by a white woman, where the negroes learned to read.

In the year 1856 and afterwards, both the Methodist and Episcopal churches sustained Sunday Schools for colored children, where they were taught to read.

And the Christian people who allowed and sustained these schools, are represented by Vincent Colyer as inhuman barbarians, keeping negroes in a state of ignorance, and depriving them of all religious instruction! The fact is, that the law was always odious to the people, was passed under the excitement produced by an insurrection in Virginia, and only kept on the Statute-books to deter abolitionists from circulating their infamous publications. In hundreds of families negroes were taught to read. And so goes another feather from the jackdaw's borrowed plumes.

Your letter of 29th January, 1865, needs no answer. What I have written already is answer enough. Argument and reasoning are thrown away upon one who believes "slavery to be the sum of all villanies"; who, sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, constantly disregards its injunctions, and who is now, by virtue of his position as Senator, a leader of that class of infuriate fanatics, who want an "anti-slavery constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God." I would as soon do anything to secure their approbation, as I would catch a runaway slave, steal a horse, stab in the dark a hospitable college-mate, or deliberately bear false witness against my neighbor.

I have accounted for your malice; but how to find a reason for Mr. Colyer's, I confess puzzles me. He made no complaint of incivility on my part. When he returned to Newbern after his visit with you to the President, and came back with another supply of "jellies, colored pamphlets, blackberry brandy," &c., &c., I did not interfere with him. As far as I know his schools were continued; they gave me no annoyance, and I let them alone. Yet he has published, with malice aforethought, a pamphlet, in which he devotes several pages to slander me. Self-defence justifies me in refuting his falsehoods. But, besides his misrepresentation of me, his pamphlet proves what many in the army and in civil life thought of him: that he was the most credulous philanthropist that ever followed an army.

He gives a disgusting picture of "Miscegenation at the South"—a horrible story, manufactured by and for him. To complete it, he should have added, that the brute he spoke of had regularly for breakfast a roasted negro. Mr. Colyer can "strain at a gnat and swallow a camel." He shudders with holy horror at one case of miscegenation, and yet, had he been willing to see, he could have learned the sad fate—among abolitionists—of hundreds of those "beautiful girls" of whom he writes in such glowing terms.

For the sake of his "friends," the less Mr. Colyer says upon that subject the better.

Mr. Colyer gives a romantic story, called "History of a Scout," "written down from his own lips"! in which he speaks of a man who kept a pack of "bloodhounds," used in hunting negroes. I have lived in North Carolina more than forty years, and, as a candidate for Congress, travelled over ten counties—the district I represented being nearly two hundred miles in extent; I practised law there, in several counties, nearly twenty years, with every opportunity for observation; and I do not remember that I ever saw a bloodhound. I never knew a man of whom it was reported that he kept bloodhounds. Some one case like that Mr. Colyer

mentions may have existed, but I doubt it. But, suppose it to be true: are all the people of North Carolina to be judged by this one monster? Within the last week I have seen an account, in a free State, where a man murdered his wife, his father, and his mother. I can find more instances of wife-murder, and other horrible crimes, in any free State, than can be found of men who kept bloodhounds to catch negroes in North Carolina.

But admitting, for argument's sake, that more than one man kept bloodhounds, in a State where there were more than three hundred thousand slaves: the white people were treated with more inhumanity; for abolitionists and emissaries of Prison Aid Societies in Europe, "savage men, more savage still" than bloodhounds, were put upon the tracks of our unfortunate white people.

I was informed by respectable and loyal persons that it was a matter of frequent occurrence for soldiers in the army of the United States to catch negroes, who had fled to our lines for protection, and to return them to the enemy for the reward offered—sometimes fifty dollars, or less. Shall, therefore, our whole army be accused of carrying on the inhuman slave-trade? With as much truth and justice as the people of North Carolina are denounced for keeping bloodhounds to catch negroes.

Mr. Colyer could find no good thing that any white person ever did in that good old State. He came there under the belief that they were all brutes, and acted accordingly. To his colored "sisters," as he fondly called them, he was most courteous and considerate; to the most worthy but unfortunate white people, who were compelled, by the pangs of starvation, to ask for food, his conduct was often offensive and insulting. So many complaints were made of the rudeness of negroes, encouraged by abolitionists, it became necessary to appoint a Superintendent of the Poor, as well as a "Superintendent of the Freedmen." I knew of one family who would not submit to the violence of Colyer and his

friends—declined to apply for provisions, and were supported by the efforts of a faithful slave, who commiserated their condition. I did not publish these complaints, nor wish to injure Mr. Colyer; but he probably knows the complaints were made, thinks I believed them, and, therefore, slanders me. If Mr. Colyer had watched my conduct in Newbern closely, he must have known that there was scarcely a day in which I was not called upon to interpose in behalf of some poor negro, treated inhumanly by some abolition soldier. Sometimes my office was crowded with negroes, asking protection, which was never refused. They could not always see the General Commanding; his important duties made it impossible, sometimes for days, to see me. Often and often they were removed, and threatened to be removed, from their houses, by subordinate officers and soldiers, and I interposed and prevented the attempted wrong. Again and again have I forbidden soldiers to remove their garden-fences to build stables, or for firewood. I have interposed—never without the approbation of the General Commanding—to relieve them from imprisonment, when, unjustly or by mistake, they were confined. Had they applied to Mr. Colyer, he would have given them a jar of "jelly," or an "illustrated report," and have told them to sing "Hallelujah! his soul is marching on." But for anything else—"that's not in our line."

Until a few years ago both white and black were buried in one common enclosure; it became crowded, and the negroes had a grave-yard of their own, enclosed with a neat wooden fence, built, as I was informed, by subscription among the whites. There their honored remains rested, unmolested by white slave-holders, who respected their "rude memorials," as they,

> "With uncouth rhymes and shapeless sculpture decked,
> Implored the passing tribute of a sigh;"

and, although wood was abundant in the neighborhood, the philanthropic friends of humanity, the men of "moral ideas,"

destroyed the fence for fire-wood. When I heard that "the old order of things was trampled out," unmindful of Mr. Sumner's opinions, I exercised the "unconstitutional power," against "injustice and barbarism," of issuing an order to the Provost-Marshal to prevent the consummation of the outrage. It was arrested for a short period, but in a few weeks the fence around the grave-yard was all gone. The report made in answer to my order was, that they had "asked and received permission from some of the freedmen!" To them, the request from a soldier was a command. The abolitionists acted in the spirit of the highwayman, who met a traveller, and, with pistol in one hand and his hat humbly held in the other, said, "In the name of the Virgin, alms!"

I remember another instance of abolition humanity for the negro. An old colored man had lost his cow; she was found in the yard of a house occupied by a Massachusetts philanthropist. I issued an order that the cow should be restored to her owner; this was refused by a note in writing, unless the negro would first pay for feeding the cow! The abolitionist made no allowance for the milk—feeding her, too, upon Uncle Sam's hay! A Massachusetts gentleman, ashamed of his countryman, begged me not to report the case to the General. I consented, and, according to his promise, the cow was delivered up in less than two hours. From no person, white or black, was any money demanded or received by me, or by any one by my consent, for anything done in their behalf. To the negroes, in numerous instances, permission was given to cultivate abandoned fields, and to cut and sell wood; and no "idea ever suggested itself" of making money for granting such favors.

Some of Mr. Colyer's "friends" cannot say as much with truth; *the less they say on this subject the better.*

Of the outrageous injustice and cruelty practised to negroes by abolitionists elsewhere I will not speak now. The facts have been published by Northern men. They have died on the Mississippi by thousands, from want of food and cloth-

ing. Even now, from the halls of the House of Representatives, report comes of their dying by starvation in sight of the National Capitol.

I remember the case of two negro-men who had lived in the country—had lost their property, because they had taken refuge within our lines; they had rendered valuable services to General Burnside, who had, upon leaving the Department, commended them to my favor. A house had been provided for them in town, where they lived in comfort with their families. They came to see me, saying they were ordered to leave the house immediately, with their wives and children, by a "soldier-man." Having resigned, I was preparing to leave, but immediately made the facts known to General Foster, who promptly interposed.

And here I take pleasure in saying that I can remember no instance of doing anything that incurred the disapprobation of either General Burnside or General Foster, who commanded in North Carolina while I was there. I consulted them whenever their engagements allowed, and tried to, and did, relieve them of much troublesome labor. These and other West-Pointers, brave on the battle-field, even ferocious against armed rebels, never tarnished their fame by stealing, trophy-finding, or robbery of unoffending citizens. But it was impossible for them to watch the enemy and take care of the morals of abolition Colonels, Majors, Captains, &c., &c., at the same time.

They never, when requested, refused to exercise their authority to protect innocence or prevent robbery.

Had the war in North Carolina been conducted by soldiers who were Christians and gentlemen, that State would long ago have rebelled against the rebellion. But, instead of that, what was done? Thousands and thousands of dollars' worth of property was "conveyed North"—libraries, pianos, carpets, mirrors, family portraits—everything, in short, that could be removed was stolen by men abusing "flagitious" slave-holders, and preaching "Liberty, Justice,

and Civilization." I was informed that one regiment of abolitionists had "conveyed North" more than forty thousand dollars' worth of property. They literally "robbed the cradle and the grave." Family burying vaults were broken open for robbery; and in one instance, (the fact was published in a Boston paper, and admitted to me by an officer of high position in the army,) a vault was entered, a metallic coffin removed, and the remains cast out, that those of a dead soldier might be put in their place. Against these brutal and beastly barbarities, who has ever heard the voices of Sumner and Colyer raised? "Bloodhounds, Miscegenation, Liberty, Justice, and Civilization; give every negro-child a spelling-book and one of Colyer's illustrated reports," would be the song of these philanthropists."

"That's in our line."

Cases were numerous where old men, upon the most frivolous pretexts, were thrown into prison, and often their houses and barns destroyed by fire after they were robbed. I remember one instance where several houses were burnt and robbed, and among others that of a Methodist preacher, whose Bible and little library and only horse were stolen. He was brought to Newbern, and lodged in a felon's jail, where he remained several days, before I heard of it. No man, since St. Stephen was stoned, ever bore injuries with more Christian spirit—humble, resigned, even submissive. He used no words of anger or reproach. He had never polluted the pulpit by preaching politics, and was without the disposition or ability to bear arms, having for years suffered from a severe bodily injury. I tried, with General Foster's generous aid, to recover his books, but in vain. I complained to the General of these barbarities, of the bad effect they would produce upon the minds of the people of the State. He ordered a Colonel who commanded the expedition to call on me, to hear what the clergyman had lost, and to see whether any recovery could be effected. Nobody was to blame for burning the house: a party of sailors or marines had accompanied

the expedition; the army officers blamed the marines, the marines blamed the soldiers. The Colonel told me he could not prevent stealing; for while the clergyman's house was being robbed, he left his valise in one room, and went into another for a few minutes, and it was robbed while he was gone. For any reparation made to this good man, whom I had long known and respected for his unaffected piety and life, I was denounced for "protecting rebels."

Take another example of abolition brutality to prisoners: one party, on a military expedition, had taken several prisoners. On returning to Newbern, they came through Pamlico Sound: they tied the hands of one prisoner behind him, and threw him overboard in its deep and dark waters.

When I found prisoners were confined in jail, who had been men of good character—sometimes old men, taken by our troops on occasional raids, against whom no charge of crime or treason was made, but captured to prevent their giving information—I took them from the association of felons to a house, where, though forbidden to leave, they were comparatively comfortable. For this act of humanity, often extended to men known for their life-long opposition to secession, and to honest people arrested on suspicion, the abolition letter-writers vilified me for putting rebels in a "palatial residence."

I may be furnishing you, Mr. Sumner, with material for another essay; but no matter, so you affix the name of "your faithful servant, Charles Sumner," to it. I know you will not be "personal." I may be guilty of the folly of reviving matters sunk in oblivion. But I prefer the truth should be known.

The Rev. Horace James (referred to by Mr. Colyer as one of "the best friends of the freedman to be found in the country"), wrote a letter, under the sanction of his own name, making assertions not very complimentary to some officers of the army, nor to myself. Upon General Foster's calling the attention of Mr. James to the impropriety of writing such

letters, and to the injustice of his statements, he wrote a letter correcting them in part. One statement he did not correct, believing, no doubt, he had reported the truth. When I called his attention to this, very politely, giving, as my reason, my unwillingness to be censured by a clergyman, he promised to give me his author.

He brought me a statement in writing, I think, sworn to by William O. Brown, of the 25th Mass. Volunteers, in which Brown says that in July or August, 1862, he heard Captain (now Col.) E. R. Goodrich say that I had given the superintendent of the poor orders for provisions, which he (Goodrich) believed were for the benefit of persons in the rebel army, and to feed their wives and children; and, further, Mr. Brown stated that Capt. Goodrich said:

> A short time before this, three ladies, well dressed, and of cultivated appearance, came into his office, with an order from Gov. Stanly, requiring him to deliver them such provisions or commissary stores as they might call for. *The order was unlimited.*

In answer to a letter from me, Col. Goodrich says he "firmly believes that Lieut. Wm. Brown, with whom I had a conversation, did not intentionally misrepresent my language. I did not say that you gave unlimited or indiscriminate orders for subsistence; to the contrary, every one of your orders was most specific, and, in my opinion, entirely proper and judicious. * * * * I repeat to you at this time the assurance contained in my other letters, that all of my intercourse with you, both social and business, was of the most pleasant and satisfactory nature. I believe your administration of the duties incumbent upon the Military Government of North Carolina to have been most just and discriminating, and it gives me great pleasure in relieving you from any imputation which any misunderstanding of my declarations may have caused." If I remember right, the letter of Mr. James appeared in a paper called "The Congregationalist." I do not remember in what New England town it is published. I

do not know where Mr. James now is. Should he see this letter, I shall hope, though late, that he will make the correction due to one who gave him no offence, and as becomes a Christian and a gentleman. Upon the unpleasant attitude in which Wm. O. Brown appears I make no comments. I hope he will be more careful when he makes affidavits impeaching my conduct.

This is a specimen of the sort of warfare that was carried on against me.

Another instance. What was called a "public meeting" was held, in which resolutions were passed, denunciatory of my conduct in ordering an election for a member of Congress. Upon a report made after careful examination, by an intelligent officer, it appears that a few—I think less than a dozen—persons assembled, and several of them made oath that the resolutions had been changed by an unprincipled "soldier of fortune," to whose hands they had been entrusted to be forwarded to Washington. Thus forgery was joined to falsehood in the work of detraction.

I am giving a true history, Mr. Sumner, of the conduct of those who are encouraged in their infamous work by wicked men in high places. And now, Mr. Sumner, hoping you will not regard as "personal" what I have written, I take my leave of you.

I ought to thank you for the excuse you have furnished me of contradicting reports calculated to injure me. I have spoken plainly of Mr. Colyer; in the words of the illustrious hero-statesman, Winfield Scott, "the natural and Christian right of self-defence" justifies it.

I omit to say other things which might not add radiance to the laurels with which he thinks he has adorned his brow. I treated him in North Carolina with tenderness and consideration, under the belief that he was a "preacher," and, therefore, to be respected. I knew "the man was mortal and was a schoolmaster," and therefore made allowances for the egotism and silly eccentricity which marked his conduct, and

which brought upon him the ridicule of army officers, by whom he was called the "apple-sauce philanthropist." After he closed his school, and went to Washington city, having made speeches reflecting on me, he returned to Newbern. With kind courtesy, when he called to see me, I mentioned the fact that he had done me injustice, and was mistaken in supposing I said I intended to "enforce" the laws of North Carolina. I thought he was animated by the spirit of a gentleman when he said he would correct it; he published a card to that effect, and in his illustrated pamphlet he very shabbily indulges in a pitiful quibble, and re-asserts his falsehood. His "friends" complained of one act of decent behavior!

Mr. Colyer seems to have as much aversion to telling the truth as you have to any measure calculated to restore peace to our country. He seems unable, by pencil or pen, to pourtray anything truly. I know not by what code of "moral ideas" he can be acquitted of doing intentional wrong.

In one of his pictures he represents two negroes "defending Newbern, February, 1864," against countless rebels. Since the days of Samson, and Hercules, and Falstaff, no mortals have performed such wonderful feats. The "colored sergeant" who "did not know a letter of the alphabet" when he first became a pupil of Vincent Colyer, in March, 1862, and could so soon write such a letter as Mr. Colyer says he received from him, will be remembered, while Mr. Colyer's pictures are, as a more wonderful hero than was ever sung of by poet or pictured by historian. His credulity is as ridiculous as his disregard of truth is disgusting.

But while he makes demigods of the negroes he does not forget to magnify his own deeds. According to his own statements, that most useful and noble organization, the Christian Commission, owes its origin to his suggestion. It may be so; great results are sometimes brought about by most insignificant instruments. If the cackling of geese saved a city, such an idea might have "suggested itself" to Vincent Colyer.

He not only claims credit for having "driven" the Military Governor to commit himself "irrevocably to the Free State policy," but he, Vincent Colyer, "had secured the right of the refugee slaves to their freedom, and to be educated ! !" So now, Mr. Abraham Lincoln, you may hang your harp on the willows. A large portion of mankind give you the credit of securing freedom to refugee slaves by the Proclamation of 1863. It is all a mistake—hang your diminished head. Vincent Colyer, the incarnation of truth and charity, did it all. And the Military Governor was driven by Colyer's manifestation "of popular feeling" to commit himself "irrevocably to the Free State Policy;" and the proof is that he resigned his office because he could not support the Proclamation !

But I let Mr. Colyer go. I am in danger of forgetting the old adage—"He is a poor sportsman who shoots game not worth the bagging."

I know, Mr. Sumner, that I am above the reach of your malice. I was a young man when first in Congress, and often, in times of party excitement, I have said much that I would wish should be forgotten. I did injustice sometimes to those who were strangers to me. But you deserved all that was said of you. The coalition by which you were first elected was denounced in Massachusetts as a "crime." You would soon have passed away and have been forgotten, or only distinguished before conventions of spiritualists, or of woman's rights, but for the unjustifiable punishment you received in the Senate-Chamber. "I regret to say what I must, but truth compels me." While all good men united in condemning your assailant, they felt hearty contempt for your pusillanimous whinings at home and in Europe.

The liberty-loving people of Massachusetts regarded the attack upon you as violating the liberty of speech. You became the representative of an idea; and to this alone you owe your continued election.

Though in private life, I know I am entitled to as much

respect as you are. I have never solicited office from the General Government. When I left North Carolina I went to avoid the cares and impoverishing honors of public life. In California, when I accepted the unsolicited nomination of the Republican party as their candidate for Governor, in 1857, they were in a minority; it was then a reproach to be called a Republican. They were defeated by the "Know-Nothing" and Democratic parties. Afterwards, when the wicked rebellion caused patriots of all parties to act with the Republicans, and they came into power, though I voted for their candidates, I have neither asked for nor expected to receive any of the spoils of office, which belong to the victors.

I left my distant home and went to my native State, with the patriotic hope of inducing her people to return to their duty. That I did some little towards protecting the innocent and defenceless, I know; I thank the Father of the fatherless that I was the humble instrument of doing any good. Though I saved thousands of dollars' worth of property for others, I made not a dollar, or thought of making one for myself. My political opinions were not concealed from the President. I am not aware that any act of mine as Military Governor was censured by him.

From the beginning of my public life to this day, "among beasts at Ephesus" in the South, and in the House of Representatives,

> O'er lake, o'er marsh, through fevers and through fogs,
> 'Midst bears and Yankees, Democrats and frogs,

no man has been more constant or earnest in denouncing Secession, or Nullification, as Treason.

By extremists of the South, because I spoke of slavery as an evil, and advocated and voted for tariffs to protect American labor and industry, I was called an abolitionist, and a Southern man with Northern principles. No man can accuse me of doing anything to encourage sectional feeling.

I resigned the position of Military Governor because I

could no longer hold it with any hope of doing good to North Carolina; nor with honor to myself or justice to the administration. I believed, and still believe, that the Emancipation Proclamation would make the war more bitter, and preclude all hope of peace. Two years' experience justifies this belief.

Should Lee's army be captured, and Richmond and Charleston taken, still there can be no peace for many, many years, if the counsels of abolition prevail. If every slave-owner in North Carolina should advocate immediate emancipation, there are several hundred thousand non-slaveholders, anti-slavery men, who will demand to be heard. They will tell you you will not allow them to come to Massachusetts, and ask you how they are to be provided for? Who will furnish them land? They will never consent—any man of common sense, with any knowledge of human nature, knows it—that they should remain among them and be free.

Be comforted, Mr. Sumner. Lay aside your fears. There is no hope of peace at present. Enjoy while you may the delights of your present position. In a few years you will awake to a knowledge of the truth, that you are regarded as a fantastic dreamer, as destitute of common sense as of courage, full of crotchets and political whimsies. And when men ask, "How could the glorious old commonwealth of Massachusetts, the land of Adams, Webster, Davis, Choate, and Everett, have sent such a man to the Senate?" the answer will be, "Alas! poor human nature; did not the children of Israel, even under the leadership of Moses, and after the revelations from Mount Sinai, bow down and worship the molten calf?"

I am, dear Sir,

"Your faithful servant,"

EDWARD STANLY.

War Department, Washington, }
May 12th, 1863. }

To Hon. Edward Stanly.

Sir:

In accepting your resignation as Military Governor of North Carolina, I cannot but express my regret that the Government, in this trying hour, should lose the benefit of your able and patriotic service.

It is my duty and pleasure to state that all the functions devolved upon you during your official connection with this Department, onerous and vexatious though many of them were, have been discharged with a zeal and fidelity unsurpassed by any public servant.

Your intercourse with this Department has been marked by the courtesy that has eminently distinguished your personal character, and your official business has been conducted with promptness and alacrity.

I trust that honor and prosperity will attend you through life, and that you will always enjoy the pleasant reflection of having faithfully performed a high and responsible duty to your Government in the hour of its trial.

With sentiments of profound respect and sincere friendship, I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

Edwin M. Stanton,
Secretary of War.

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